

Christianity and Crisis

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Freedom of Religion

AT THIS hour when an obligation is laid upon the spiritual forces of mankind to present a united front against a common threat to them all and when that obligation has produced in many European countries the closest collaboration of Protestants and Catholics since the Reformation, it is deplorable that a demand should have been projected upon the American scene which, unless it be promptly abandoned, may seriously divide our Christian people and set back the cause of Christian comity for decades to come.

For some time it has been known that certain Roman Catholic leaders were seizing their present favorable standing with the administration to attempt to oust Protestant missionaries from Latin America. It had been hoped that counsels of wisdom would prevail and this campaign be disavowed. On the contrary it has now been brought into the open and declared as official Roman Catholic policy. This is the meaning of the recent manifesto by the Catholic hierarchy. Nothing is to be gained by evading its intention and the grave consequences.

The contention of the Catholic leaders may be simply stated. Latin America, they say, is a Roman Catholic continent. The intrusion of representatives of any other faith is resented by its Catholic populace. By offending the peoples of our sister republics, the activities of Protestant missionaries handicap our good neighbor policy. Therefore, the American Government should refuse permission to new Protestant missionaries to go to Latin America, or even to those on furlough to return to their long-established homes and work on the southern continent.

To those ill-informed concerning Latin America, this claim has a superficial persuasiveness. To those who know the facts, it is preposterous. Unfortunately its refutation demands exposing certain facts which Protestants would prefer to ignore.

Roman Catholicism in Latin America is, prevailingly, the child of Spanish and Portuguese Catholicism. Because of historic factors in both the found-

ing and development of Hispanic America, many of the less admirable features of the parent churches have been perpetuated and even aggravated there. With notable and praiseworthy exceptions, Catholicism in Latin America presents some of the least enlightened and least worthy illustrations of that Church's life and work to be found anywhere in the world.

In consequence, in many of the Hispanic American nations, the Catholic Church has lost almost completely the respect and the active loyalty of large sections of their educated leadership. They can be claimed to be "Roman Catholic countries" only in the sense that Catholicism was the predominant faith of their early centuries, that it is still the professed allegiance of many among their uneducated masses, and that their leaders often maintain a nominal relationship to the Church. The fact is that, for thousands of the most enlightened and influential Latin Americans, the only influences commending positive religion to their attention, the only alternatives to sophisticated agnosticism reach them through the numerically small but vigorous Protestant centers. They welcome the representatives of Protestantism and give them their friendship and support. They value the services of Protestant schools and hospitals and other institutions for the advancement of their peoples. Not infrequently they testify to their regard for Protestant missions by placing their own children under Protestant tutelage for their education. Moreover, many of them recognize that the presence of Protestant work is furnishing a salutary stimulus and challenge to Catholic thought and practice.

It is important that we be quite clear as to the precise issue involved. We may be inclined to say, as was done by a usually wise Protestant layman when the matter was under discussion at the recent meetings of the Federal Council, "We know that the Roman Church hold that no one is saved outside the Mother Church. She will never surrender the attempt to try to win us to her faith." That is

true. But that is not the issue at stake. That is the right of propaganda; Protestants concede it to all others as they cherish it for themselves. What is now being claimed is the right of persecution; that is a claim which must be resisted with Christian courtesy but with unyielding firmness.

In the matter of religious liberty, not one but two freedoms are involved. One is the freedom of men and groups, including churches, over against the encroachments of pagan political powers. Here the interests of all religious groups are akin. This is the issue at stake in the present conflict. Presumably it will be settled by the war's outcome.

The other is the right of various religious groups to freedom of worship and expression within territories where one or another faith is predominant—"freedom of every person to worship God in his own way everywhere in the world." This is the freedom for which our fathers founded a new world. It is not to be compromised by their children at any price. This is the freedom at stake in the claims of the Catholic bishops. Tragic, indeed, if in winning freedom of life for all mankind, we should surrender that deeper liberty without which the soul of man cannot live.

Naturally, this matter is viewed first of all in its bearing upon Protestantism in Latin America. Possibly its more serious effects might occur in the United States, and especially upon the Catholic Church in this country. Those whose memories reclaim the bitter years following the last war cannot forget the whirlwinds of intolerance which swept across the nation, the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, the passions of persecution against minority groups, racial, economic and religious. Signs are not lacking that the same madness may have to be combatted in the coming aftermath. If that day comes, Protestants will wish to rally to the defense of Catholic liberties. But it will not be easy if Catholic leaders have sought to rob minority groups in South America of the very rights which they, a minority group, so freely enjoy in North America.

Happily, Protestant leadership has been quick to sense the peril to freedom and Christianity comity, and to meet it with high statesmanship. The restrained but unequivocal affirmation of religious liberty adopted by the Federal Council which we publish in part on another page is one of the truest and most important ecumenical declarations of our time. It should be studied carefully by all, both Catholics and Protestants, who care deeply for our united strength in the present struggle.

H. P. V. D.

Who Wants the Hapsburg Monarchy?

IT is not our purpose to begin an anti-Catholic crusade. But since we have been upon the subject of our difficulties with the Catholics in South America, it may be wise to observe that Protestant leaders in this country are becoming aware of the fact that the astounding recognition of Otto of Hapsburg by the administration, has an interesting Catholic angle. The Hapsburg pretensions by themselves would certainly never have been taken seriously in America, particularly since they offend the Czechs and other democratic allies, if they were not supported by strong Catholic influence.

There is a type of clerical policy which was isolationist only a few months ago, because it believed that clerical fascism had a better chance of survival in an Axis controlled world than in a Protestant-secular one. Today those elements in the Catholic hierarchy, which feared a democratic victory a year ago, have come to regard such a victory as inevitable, and are seeking the best way of coming to terms with the probable triumph of the democratic nations. One plan undoubtedly is to create a southern European Catholic world. It is in terms of that plan that Otto of Hapsburg becomes important. The idea envisages a reconstructed Danubian monarchy which will not only unite the former nationalities of Austro-Hungary but which may also include Catholic Bavaria.

There ought not be any inclination in the Protestant world to seek the destruction of Catholic culture anywhere where it has its historic roots. But when it is proposed to turn the political clock back to achieve a new triumph of clerical politics, it is well for non-Catholics to know what is going on.

There are special reasons why these plans for a Catholic southern Europe are dangerous. They have considerable support from conservative forces outside of Catholicism who believe that the influence of Catholicism is the only undissipated force which may be used as a counterweight against communism in post-war Europe. Yet it is quite certain that any effort on the part of clerical, military and political interests to fasten a regime upon Europe against the will of the people will most certainly increase the possibility of the peoples of Europe turning to communism as an escape from the past. They will regard communism as the lesser of two evils. Whether it is the lesser of the two is beside the point. What is important is that some of the most influential post-war planning at the moment will increase the very peril which it intends to avoid.

We do not know how far the Roosevelt administration is committed to such plans. We do not assume that there are any definite commitments. But there is no doubt a strong tendency to curry favor with Catholic groups which are politically powerful. The very fact that Otto of Hapsburg achieved a quite unnecessary recognition is proof that this kind of reactionary post-war planning has

the ear of someone in Washington.

It is important that all who are interested in a generally progressive post-war reconstruction voice their opposition to the kind of diplomacy which envisages a Europe on the foundation of the 1914 world. History has moved too far and too fast to make such a reconstruction either feasible or advisable.

R. N.

Some Unfinished Business at Home

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

THERE is a true story about a man in Seattle who had dealt for many years with a Japanese vegetable dealer who delivered his vegetables in a truck and carried on a fairly profitable business despite a limited command of English. During an early blackout in Seattle right after the attack on Pearl Harbor, this man became lost near the city's main vegetable market, and suddenly he heard a cultivated voice at his side asking if he needed guidance home. To his surprise, he found it was his Japanese vegetable dealer. The vegetable dealer explained that he was a University of Oregon graduate with a Phi Beta Kappa key, but had found it so hard to gain acceptance as an educated American citizen of Japanese race that he had taken on an accent as a sort of protective coloration and gone into the vegetable business. During the many years that the Seattle residents had dealt with him, they never knew his thoughts or his true background.

Negroes are one hundred times as numerous in America as are the Japanese, yet few white citizens have any greater idea of the thoughts of their Negro fellow citizens than Seattle residents had knowledge of their Japanese vegetable dealer's thoughts and feelings. A few white persons who consciously work in the interracial field, some trade unionists in those unions where Negroes are numerically an important factor and have fully equal rights, and some political leaders and aspirants in states where Negroes vote and are a considerable proportion of the population, come into fairly close contact with a few Negroes on a friendly basis. But that is about all, and even the politicians usually have some Negro henchman through whom they operate and whose views, or such of them as they see fit to voice, they accept without questioning. Few whites have intimate friends across the color line who will talk freely about their thoughts and emotions.

What are Negroes thinking? How is opinion moving among thinking Negroes?

There is a definite divergence between white and

Negro opinion, and most clearly this is shown in their respective attitudes towards the war.

Before Pearl Harbor for example, the Gallup Polls showed a steady growth of interventionist sentiment in the country as a whole. But there were very few Negro interventionists. In fact there were hardly any outside the ranks of New Dealers, political appointees, or Negro trade unionists, such as A. Philip Randolph, the fighting president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Frank R. Crosswaith, the chairman of the Negro Labor Committee. The Negro trade unionists knew clearly that the very right of existence for organized labor was at stake in the war since the destruction of free trade unions is one of the very first things that the Nazis do. Negro trade unionists realized this as fully as their white fellow members, and knew the value of the unions in raising their standards of living. They therefore tended to be leaders in the effort to drag Negro opinion along the lines of interventionist sentiment side by side with that of whites. But their efforts were by no means successful.

Those who hated Nazism enough to want to war against it, hated it for its master race theory, that the Aryan Germans were a master race and all other races were slave races. As a natural and necessary corollary of their master race ideas, the Nazis claimed the right to dominate the world. Also the Nazis believed in and practiced the Fuehrer principle of government according to which the dictator could do no wrong, and any person who criticized or opposed him was doing wrong to such an extent that he should be suppressed, according to Nazi law, by whatever degree of force or torture might be necessary. In carrying out this Fuehrer principle of government, the Nazis naturally and necessarily suppressed all civil rights, such as the rights of free speech, free press and the right to vote after free discussion.

But Negroes in the South have always been up against treatment as an inferior race. For the ma-

jority of the dominant white group has tenaciously held the attitude that "white supremacy" must be maintained and many of them have not stopped at tacitly approving lynching in order to maintain their conception of supremacy.

Right to Vote Denied

Nor do Negroes enjoy in parts of the country where most of them live anything that could be called the right to vote after free discussion. Negroes have no vote in most states of the South. Partly they are deprived of the franchise, the very foundation of political democracy, through biased and discriminatory enforcement of literacy provisions piled on top of discrimination in educational opportunities. Partly they are prevented from voting effectively by the so-called Democratic White Primary, through which Negroes are forbidden to vote in the primary of the party whose candidates in those states are certain to win. Partly Negroes are kept away from the polls by requiring them to pay a poll tax as a necessary qualification for voting. This tax excludes poor whites as well from voting, but it operates particularly severely against Negroes because of their exceptionally heavy burden of poverty.

Partly depriving Negroes of voting rights is done by sheer terrorism. The lynching which took place in Brownsville, Tennessee on June 22, 1940, furnishes a good example of the way such terrorism operates. Negroes in that city organized a local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People early in 1940 in order, among other things, to win for themselves the right to vote in the fall election of that year. As soon as it became known to the white people in the locality that Negroes intended to demand the right to vote, there began a series of intimidations and persecutions. But the leaders of the NAACP branch persisted in their demands with courage and determination. As a result, one of the leaders, Elbert Williams, was taken out and lynched on June 22 or 23. Two others, Rev. Buster Walker and Elisha Davis, were driven out of the town by mobs and have been unable to return to their homes. Obviously, Williams is a soldier who died in the fight to win democracy at home, while Walker and Davis are refugees in America from America, their native land. Although Mr. Walker reported all the facts to the annual convention of the NAACP in Philadelphia in 1940, the Philadelphia press carried no word of the tragic story.

Thus to most Negroes there can be sounded no valid call to defend the right to vote after free discussion, a right which white Americans justly cher-

ish and which Nazism would destroy, because the right does not exist for them.

In the North of course Negroes do have a right to vote and other citizenship rights. But they have precious little right to earn a decent living. Plants, factories, stores and offices have in nearly every case an unwritten rule of employment, "NO NEGROES." Where they can get jobs at all, it is only in the most menial and lowest paid occupations. In the South educational facilities for whites and Negroes are strictly separate, and less than one-third as much is spent per Negro child for education as per white child. A leading southern educator, a member of the Board of Regents of the University of Georgia, dared to suggest that the same sort of education should be provided for Negroes as for whites. He was promptly discharged from his position by the Governor of Georgia.

In the North, Negroes do have in theory equal education opportunities with whites. In theory is used advisedly and with reason, as anyone who takes the trouble to compare the equipment for vocational education in the schools in the Harlem area with that in other sections of the city can easily discover. But when he achieves a college education, the Negro youth finds opportunities slammed in his face, so that Negro college graduates work as red caps in some cases. Political democracy for anyone is a hollow shell without the chance to earn a living, and that chance Negroes have only in a restricted measure.

It would be amazing if the attitude of Negroes toward a war for freedom and democracy was not different from those of us to whom these words have real meaning. Freedom and democracy for Negroes in America are not completely a sham, but they are often more nearly fake than genuine.

Together with A. Philip Randolph, Frank R. Crosswaith and William Pickens, I had the task of writing a leaflet for the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies calling on colored people to support this policy. The leaflet pointed out what the racial theories of Nazism meant for Negroes, and quoted Hitler's contemptuous characterization of Negroes as half apes and his proposal to deprive them of all rights of higher education, something which not even the Governor of Georgia does or could do. Writing in *Opportunity*, the official organ of the Urban League, Mr. Horace Cayton, one of the younger generation of Negro intellectuals and a pronounced progressive, described the leaflet as purely negative propaganda. Cayton is no lover of the Nazis. I have heard him tell the story of a young colored woman, the daughter of a German and a Negro woman from the Cameroons, whose

mother's little shop was confiscated, and she herself was sterilized by the Nazis, acting in accordance with their racial doctrines, and forced to earn her living by prostitution. He was friendly to denunciation of the Nazis, but his criticism of the arguments of anti-Nazis addressed to Negroes was correct. No one could ask Negroes to fight for a freedom and democracy which were theirs only in very small part. All he can truthfully say is that it is bad now, but would be worse under Hitler.

Naturally Pearl Harbor had some effect on Negroes' thinking about the war, but—also naturally—less than among whites. The armed forces, especially the Navy, discriminates against Negroes. The Navy refused, until very recently, to accept Negroes for enlistment in any other capacity except as mess attendants. There are still no Negroes as fighting men on board ships and no Negro commissioned officers in the Navy. The Air Corps under the Army has provision for only about one-half of one per cent of Negroes, despite a crying need for more recruits. Blood from Negro donors was refused by the armed forces, a nicely calculated piece of insult, since blood donations from Japanese and criminals were accepted. Nor is there any scientific basis for this discrimination, since the blood types recognized as important in medicine cut directly across racial lines.

Employment Opportunities

Employment opportunities for Negroes in war industry was almost entirely non-existent until late in 1941. The aviation industry, the most completely war industry of them all, was almost unanimous in refusing any employment opportunities whatsoever to Negroes.

The Negro's reaction to all this is an intensified nationalism. And nationalism unfortunately is the curse of our age.

Naturally this nationalist sentiment is not always bitterly or vigorously expressed or in a blatantly anti-white form among Negroes in the "interracial fringe" of members in the NAACP and the Urban League, which in theory and to some extent in practice are interracial organizations. Nor is it so pronounced among Negro trade unionists who are used to working side by side with white workers for things like better wages and hours or more security of employment, and for labor legislation like old age pension and unemployment insurance, which are a common benefit to both. Indeed Negro trade unionists struggle against this surge of nationalist feeling. But the bitterness is there, especially among the younger generation. Especially

great was the anger aroused over the refusal of blood from willing patriotic Negro donors.

Joe Louis was and is the idol of many Negroes, yet when he donated the proceeds of his last fight before joining the Army to the Navy Relief, he was vigorously and widely criticized for helping the Navy in view of the Navy's prejudiced attitude.

Newspapers told of the heroism of a mess attendant at Pearl Harbor who manned a machine gun against the Japanese bombers, though in a dangerously exposed position. When Negro organizations sought to call attention to his heroism, for three months the Navy would not or could not tell his name, and Negroes believe that the "would not" alternative is the correct one.

The most widely read of Negro columnists, George Schuyler, has repeatedly referred to the war as a white man's war, despite the fact that China's four hundred million on the anti-Axis side make the non-whites fighting the Axis actually more numerous than the whites. In part his remarks may be discounted, since he tries to be the dark prototype (and is only a pale reflection) of Westbrook Pegler. But this idea is very widely shared among Negroes, though often discreetly expressed. Many Negroes have a sneaking admiration for the Japanese which borders on wishing them well, because they have so well deflated white prestige. They tend to think and speak of Japanese as brown men, so as to bring them nearer to the Negro, rather than as yellow men.

Anti-white sentiment is increasing though far from typical as yet. In Harlem this tends to be anti-Semitism. For when a Negro suffers economically from a white merchant, landlord or employer, who is a Gentile, he may blame merchants, landlords or employers as a class. When he suffers economic pressure applied by a Jewish merchant, landlord or employer, many Negroes share with ignorant whites the tendency to blame the Jews.

History shows that anti-Semitism is a pretty accurate thermometer of social ill being. Dislike for Jews flares up into vicious anti-Semitism when economic pressure becomes serious, and the attempt to find a scape-goat for bad conditions all too often is focused on the Jews, a process which is vigorously pushed along by the conscious enemies of democracy, such as the Nazis. Since there is usually more ill being packed into the Negro section of any city than exists on an average in other sections, there is a fertile soil for anti-Semitism among Negroes, and enemies of democracy busily sow the seed.

The extent of this anti-white, anti-Semitic and pro-Axis attitude may be over-estimated. But it is

significant that Arthur Reid, one of the most tireless of the street corner purveyors of anti-Semitic poison in Negro Harlem, was made the chairman of his Speakers Committee by Adam Powell, who was recently elected to the New York City Council by an almost solid bloc of first choice votes from Harlem. Powell is neither anti-white nor anti-Semitic, but he regarded himself (and indeed he was) the people's candidate for Negroes, and he took Arthur Reid into his campaign as chairman of his Speakers Committee because he thought Reid had a significant following.

Virgil Jordan, a Negro, who boasted of being Nazi and who headed up an Ethiopian Pacific League which gained an audience in Harlem, was arrested by the FBI early in March and sentenced for failing to register as a foreign agent—of the Axis powers. But he had built up enough of a following to be selected as a columnist before Pearl Harbor by the *Amsterdam Star News*, the leading Negro paper in New York, which apparently felt that his following was large enough to be able to aid its circulation.

The increasing nationalism among Negroes has had one good result, namely increased organization to apply political pressure for equal rights. The organization has taken the form of the March on Washington Committee which has for its slogan the demand for "Equal Participation in National Defense for Negroes."

The march was initiated in the spring of 1941 by A. Philip Randolph, chairman of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, together with Walter White of the NAACP, some Negro church leaders and other outstanding labor leaders such as Frank R. Crosswaith. Its purpose was to end discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces and in defense industries, and it proposed a mass demonstration of Negroes in Washington on July 4th to emphasize this demand.

The organization and its message spread rapidly among the Negro population in the urban centers of the North and East. Its growth obviously worried the administration, especially as President Roosevelt probably (and Mrs. Roosevelt certainly) had a somewhat bad conscience on this issue. Heavy pressure was brought on the leaders to call off the proposed mass demonstration and some leading Negro organs such as the *Pittsburgh Courier* scoffed at the whole idea. Nonetheless the leaders refused to call it off. Shortly after the middle of June, they were summoned by the President to Washington. As a result of their conference with him, he issued a Presidential proclamation, or executive order, forbidding discrimination in employment in defense in-

dustries or in the government service on the ground of race or color, and in return the leaders of the "March on Washington" movement agreed to postpone their demonstration. Shortly thereafter the President created the Fair Employment Practices Committee to enforce this new policy. In the matter of discrimination in the armed forces he and his cabinet members for the War and Navy Departments have done nothing.

Some definite good results in the way of increased employment in war industry have been obtained, as a result of the proclamation and the activities of the Fair Employment Practices Committee. More such employment will probably be made available for Negroes. As the pressure to put more manpower into war industry becomes greater, it will become even more clear to all that an all-out war effort on the production front cannot be made with whites only ignoring the potential labor power of ten per cent of our population. But the results on the whole have still been pitifully small. Only a few large firms in the war industries have taken the President's proclamation seriously, for they know well that they will not be penalized by being deprived of their contracts if they refuse to obey. Any other penalty would require legislative action, not merely executive action. In most cases firms with war contracts have hired a few Negroes, chiefly in unskilled capacities, as a sort of token employment, and have then claimed to be within the letter of the President's proclamation. So again there is a rising tide of resentment among Negroes.

White Americans must face this issue fairly. Negroes are clearly right in this issue. Democracy for whites only is not real. Discrimination against Negroes should be stopped. Educational discrimination in regard to opportunities for children, in higher institutions of learning, and in the matter of equal salary for white and Negro teachers, must be ended. We should pass a Federal anti-lynching law, and not allow 20 per cent of the senators to filibuster the bill to death every year when they do not succeed in keeping it buried in committee. We must accord to Negroes employment opportunities equal to advantages that are enjoyed by others, and also equal opportunities for getting vocational training. Negroes must have the chance to serve their country in the armed forces as do the whites.

Our war effort against the Axis is only a partial effort if it is military only and neglects a political attack. Certainly we do not need to have perfection before we can claim normal justification for a fight to the death against the evil of Nazism with its destruction of all political rights, its determination to dominate the world, and its unprovoked aggression.

But we will fight better and more effectively in proportion as the democracy in whose name we fight is more real and genuine. Nothing will do more to strengthen the weakest link in American democracy than making our actual treatment of Negroes cor-

respond with our professed democratic ideal of equal rights for all regardless of race, creed or color. Professed ideals which are denied in practice merely give arguments to the Nazis, who scoff at our democracy as pure hypocrisy.

The World Church: News and Notes

Protestant Missions and the Good Neighbor Policy

The biennial session of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America signed a resolution, also adopted by the Foreign Missions Conference and the Home Missions Council, which has rightly been interpreted as a protest against a recent statement made by the Catholic bishops of America which suggested that Protestant missions in Catholic Latin America were a threat to American good neighbor policy. The statement declares in part:

It is with deep concern that we have witnessed an effort now publicly endorsed in the United States by the archbishops and bishops of a sister Christian communion which constitutes a religious minority in this country, to set the relation of Protestant Christianity in Hispanic America in a perspective which does violence both to historical truth and contemporary fact. We deplore the pretension of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to circumscribe the religious freedom of Protestant Christians in the proclamation of their faith, while by implication reserving for themselves the right to the universal proclamation of their own. We can imagine no policy more certain to project into the New World the baneful intolerance which is now producing such tragic consequences in the contemporary life of Spain. We, accordingly, feel it incumbent upon us to make the following simple and plain affirmations:

First: The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America stands, and will continue to stand, for the principle of religious liberty and for the rights of religious minorities in the United States and throughout the world.

Second: The churches represented in this Council will continue to express solidarity with the national and autonomous Protestant churches in Hispanic America, whose numerous members are loyal and patriotic citizens of the countries where they dwell. They will also continue to avail themselves of the constitutional freedom which the republics of Hispanic America grant to the representatives of every faith. Their controlling aim in the discharge of their ministry will be, as it has always been, to have a part, however humble, in interpreting the significance of our Lord, Jesus Christ, for life and thought in those great and growing nations.

Third: We affirm, with full and first-hand knowledge of the facts, that, so far from Protestant institutions and the representatives of Protestant Christianity being a peril to good relations between the Americas, they

are today with some easily explained exceptions and have been for decades, regarded with great favor by governments and peoples in the countries where they are located.

Fourth: While obliged by circumstances not of our seeking to make this statement in order to clarify the American Protestant position upon a crucial issue, it is nevertheless the judgment and desire of this Council that Protestant and Roman Catholic Christians should combine their influence, in these days of supreme crisis, to work for religious freedom and the other great freedoms, both now and in the post-war world.

Notes on the Norwegian Church Conflict

Ragnar Skancke, head of Quisling's Department of Church and Education, has written a letter of complaint to the Archbishop of Sweden. He claims that although both the Danish and Finnish churches were invited to send representatives to the recent ordination of Bishop Björkquist, no such invitation was received by him. His letter remains unanswered.

When members of the State Police forced their way into a meeting being held by pastors of the Björgvin diocese, the chairman led the group in the singing of a hymn and then dismissed the meeting.

"Bishop" Frøyland, Quisling's choice as successor to Eivind Berggrav as Bishop of Oslo, recently visited his native village of Høvaag in Austagder, and let it be known that he intended to preach at the Sunday morning service. The congregation that morning consisted of sixteen persons, including Frøyland's mother and father, other immediate relatives and a few NS-members.

Issues at Stake in the War

In a resolution on the issues at stake in the war, the Federal Council in its biennial session held in Cleveland declared in part:

We do not regard the present war as merely a conflict between national self-interests or rival imperialisms. If the war could be fully described in these terms, the Christian Church, as a supra-national ecumenical fellowship, might have little or nothing to say about the issues at stake. Beneath the conflict of nations we discern a crisis of civilization itself—a conflict of moral ideas and of two different conceptions of the meaning and end of human existence. In this conflict the Christian Church has a valid and inescapable concern.

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... The triumph of the Axis powers, according to their own definition of their objectives, would mean a deliberate effort to:

- (1) subject every realm of personal freedom to the tyranny of the state;
- (2) substitute the arbitrary decisions of a dictatorship for an ordered regime of law and justice;
- (3) establish the domination of an alleged master-race in place of a democratic fellowship of races;
- (4) deprive free nations of their own governments and make them vassals of a supreme military power;
- (5) exercise such an exclusive control over the education of youth as to impose the entire totalitarian philosophy upon them.

Such avowed aims as these are not merely un-Christian; they are positively anti-Christian. They frankly repudiate the best elements that Christianity has contributed to the shaping of civilization. . . .

We do not hold that a victory of the United Nations would, in itself guarantee the achievement of any Christian goals. Their achievement, which is the essential victory for which Christians strive, depends upon the acceptance of the will of God in the hearts of men. But we are convinced that the external conditions will be vastly more favorable to working for Christian social objectives in the event of the military success of the United Nations than in the event of their defeat. A victory of the United Nations would at least afford in many lands a degree of freedom in Christian service of which—so far as human eye can see—an Axis victory would rob us. No thoughtful Christian, therefore, can be indifferent to the outcome of the war.

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English Manifesto Against Hatred

Many thousands of copies of a "Manifesto Against Race Hatred" are circulating in Britain, signed by a very large number of prominent men and women in all walks of British life. The Manifesto is a Socialist reply to the campaign of hatred and revenge against the German people being conducted by a group led by Lord Vansittart. Declaring that the hate campaign is being carried out in England as a mask for vicious and reactionary social and economic policies which, if they prevailed, would wreck the possibilities of a just and lasting peace, and that the campaign tends to blind people to the fundamental causes of the war, the Manifesto argues that "that cause is not found in the inherent wickedness of any person, class, or nation, but in the motives and organization of modern political and economic Nation-States."

Federal Council Asks for Chaplains

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, in a biennial session in Cleveland, Ohio, December 8-11, records its strong sense of the obligation resting upon the churches to provide chaplains in sufficient numbers to furnish a pastoral ministry to all the men in the armed forces of the United States.

We urge ministers who have the requisite qualifications to consider whether they should not offer themselves for the chaplaincy in the Army or Navy. We urge churches to make such adjustments in their work as are necessary to release an adequate number of ministers for service in the chaplaincy. We regard this service as the greatest spiritual and evangelistic opportunity among American young men today.

Special Aid to British Chaplains

The Archbishops of Canterbury and York have called on five well-known clergymen, with the consent of the diocesan bishops concerned to devote a period of time not exceeding one year to providing special help to chaplains of the Royal Air Force. The object of this arrangement is to extend the chaplains' work to its greatest extent to insure that it is as efficient as possible.

Author in This Issue

Alfred Baker Lewis is a member of the National Board of National Association for Advancement of Colored People, the Board of the Union for Democratic Action, and the Executive Board of the League for Industrial Democracy, the Federation of Teachers which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Lewis is also the organizer for the Negro Labor Committee.

650 *We regret the omission of a note in our issue of December 14th that the article written by Francis Miller was originally delivered as an address at Virginia Theological Seminary.*